Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln

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Complete Works *of*

Abraham Lincoln

Edited by

JOHN G. NICOLAY *and* JOHN HAY

Abraham Lincoln

After the Original Etching by Thomas Johnson and Based on an Unknown Photograph. Probably taken Sometime in 1861.

With Introduction by

JOHN WESLEY HILL, and Special Articles *by* OTHER EMINENT PERSONS

New and Enlarged Edition

VOLUME XII

LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY

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Illustrations

ABRAHAM LINCOLN . . . . . *Frontispiece*

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PAGE

THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, FEBRUARY 1, 1865 64

Fac-simile of the original document as signed by the members of the House and the Senate.

Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln

Volume XII

Anthology.

Anthology of Sayings of Abraham Lincoln.

House Divided Against Itself

"A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided.——*Speech at Springfield, Ill., June 16, 1858, vol. III, p. 1.*

With Malice Toward None

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.——*Second Inaugural Address, Mar. 4, 1865, vol. XI, p. 46.*

Let Bygones be Bygones

Let bygones be bygones; let past differences as nothing be; and with steady eye on the real issue, let us reinaugurate the good old "central ideas" of the republic. The human heart is with us. God is with us.——*Speech at Chicago Banquet, Dec. 10, 1856, vol. II, p. 311.*

Few Things Wholly Evil

The true rule, in determining to embrace or reject anything is not whether it have any evil in it, but whether it have more of evil than of good. There are few things wholly evil or wholly good.——*Speech on Internal Improvements, June 20, 1848, vol. II, p. 37.*

Faith that Right Makes Might

Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.——*Address at Cooper Institute, New York City, Feb. 27, 1860, vol. V, p. 328.*

Fooling the People

You can fool all the people some of the time and some of the people all the time, but you cannot fool all the people all of the time.——*Speech at Clinton, Ill., Sept. 8, 1858, vol. III, p. 349.*

Government of the People

We here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.——*Gettysburg Address, Nov. 19, 1863, vol. IX, p. 210.*

Violation of Liberty

Let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his father, and to tear the charter of his own and his children's liberty.——*Lyceum Address, Jan. 27, 1837, vol. I, p. 43.*

Reading Through an Eagle

The plainest print cannot be read through a gold eagle.——*Speech at Springfield, Ill., June 26, 1857. vol. II, p. 338.*

Power of Public Opinion

In this age, and in this country, public sentiment is everything. With it, nothing can fail; against it, nothing can succeed.——*Notes for Speeches, Oct. 1, 1858, vol. IV, p. 222.*

Controlled by Events

I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me.——*Letter to A. G. Hodges, Apr. 4, 1864, vol. X, p. 68.*

Stand with the Right

Stand with anybody that stands right. Stand with him while he is right, and part with him when he goes wrong.——*Speech at Peoria, Ill. Oct. 16, 1854, vol. II, p. 243.*

Emancipation Irrevocable

If the people should, by whatever mode or means, make it an executive duty to re-enslave such persons [negroes], another, and not I, must be their instrument to perform it.——*Annual Message to Congress, Dec. 6, 1864, vol. X, p. 310.*

Seeing Through the Guinea

The dissenting minister who argued some theological point with one of the established church was always met by the reply, "I can't see it so." He opened the Bible and pointed him to a passage, but the orthodox minister replied, "I can't see it so." Then he showed him a single word—"Can you see that?" "Yes, I see it," was the reply. The dissenter laid a guinea over the word, and asked "Do you see it now?"——*Speech at New Haven, Conn., Mar. 6, 1860, vol. V, p. 344.*

Difference in Consciences

Consciences differ in different individuals.——*Notes for Speeches, Oct. 1, 1858, vol. IV, p. 213.*

Clear Before His Own Conscience

At least I should have done my duty, and have stood clear before my own conscience.——*Memorandum, Aug. 23, 1864, vol. X, p. 204.*

Inflexibility of Principle

Important principles may and must be inflexible. ——*Last Public Address, Apr. 11, 1865, Vol. XI, p. 92.*

Origin of the Will

Will springs from the two elements of moral sense and self-interest.—*Speech at Springfield, Ill., June 26, 1857, vol. II, p. 338.*

Eastern Aphorism

It is said an Eastern monarch once charged his wise men to invent him an aphorism to be ever in view, and which should be true and appropriate in all times and situations. They presented him the words, "And this, too, shall pass away."——*Agricultural Address, Sept. 30, 1859, vol. V, p. 255.*

Demand for Facts

No man has needed favors more than I, and, generally, few have been less unwilling to accept them; but in this case favor to me would be injustice to the

public, and therefore I must beg your pardon for declining it. That I once had the confidence of the people of Sangamon is sufficiently evident; and if I have since done anything, either by design or misadventure, which, if known, would subject me to a forfeiture of that confidence, he that knows of that thing, and conceals it, is a traitor to his country's interest.——*Letter to Robert Allen, June 21, 1836, vol. I, p. 15.*

Truth and Prudence

I never encourage deceit, and falsehood, especially if you have got a bad memory, is the *worst* enemy a fellow can have. The fact is, truth is your truest friend, no matter what the circumstances are. Notwithstanding this copy-book preamble, my boy, I am inclined to suggest a *little prudence.*——*Letter to George E. Pickett, Feb. 22, 1842, vol. I, p. 191.*

Judgment Deferred

There is something so ludicrous in promises of good or threats of evil a great way off as to render the whole subject with which they are connected easily turned into ridicule. "Better lay down that spade you are stealing, Paddy; if you don't you'll pay for it at the day of judgment." "Be the powers, if ye'll credit me so long I'll take another jist."—*Temperance Address, Feb. 22, 1842, vol. I, p. 202.*

For the Man Who Works

I am always for the man who wishes to work.——*Indorsement of Application for Employment, Aug. 15, 1864, vol. X, p. 192.*

Men More than Money

Gold is good in its place, but living, brave, patriotic men are better than gold.——*Response to a Serenade, Nov. 10, 1864, vol. X, p. 264.*

Rare Want Encouraged

The lady bearer of this says she has two sons who want to work. Set them at it if possible. Wanting to work is so rare a want that it should be encouraged. ——*Note to Major Ramsey, Oct. 17, 1861, vol. XI, p. 120.*

Lincoln the Hired Laborer

I am not ashamed to confess that twenty-five years ago I was a hired laborer, mauling rails, at work on a flatboat—just what might happen to any poor man's son. I want every man to have a chance.——*Speech at New Haven, Conn., Mar. 6, 1860, vol. V, p. 361.*

Causes of Poverty

If any continue through life in the condition of the hired laborer, it is not the fault of the system, but be-

cause of either a dependent nature which prefers it, or improvidence, folly, or singular misfortune.——*Agricultural Address, Sept. 30, 1859, vol. V, p. 250.*

Men Worthy of Trust

No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty—none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned.——*Annual Message to Congress, Dec. 3, 1861, vol. VII, p. 59.*

Safety from Violence

Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built.——*Reply to New York Working-Men, Mar. 21, 1864, vol. X, p. 54.*

Land to Bury Him

Part with the land you have, and, my life upon it, you will never after own a spot big enough to bury you in.——*Letter to John D. Johnston, Nov. 4, 1851, vol. II, p. 150.*

Work Where You Are

If you intend to go to work, there is no better place than right where you are; if you do not intend to go to work, you cannot get along anywhere.——*Letter to John D. Johnston, Nov. 4, 1851, vol. II, p. 150.*

Place in Heaven Cheap

You say you would almost give your place in heaven for seventy or eighty dollars. Then you value your place in heaven very cheap, for I am sure you can, with the offer I make, get the seventy or eighty dollars for four or five months' work.——*Letter to John D. Johnston, Jan. 2, 1851, vol. II, p. 145.*

Importance of Industry

You do not very much dislike to work, and still you do not work much, merely because it does not seem to you that you could get much for it. This habit of uselessly wasting time is the whole difficulty; it is vastly important to you, and still more so to your children, that you should break the habit. It is more important to them, because they have longer to live, and can keep out of an idle habit before they are in it, easier than they can get out after they are in.——*Letter to John D. Johnston, Jan. 2, 1851, vol. II, p. 144.*

Wages of Laborers and Presidents

An honest laborer digs coal at about seventy cents a day, while the President digs abstractions at about seventy dollars a day. The coal is clearly worth more than the abstractions, and yet what a monstrous inequality in the prices.——*Speech on Internal Improvements, June 20, 1848, vol. II, p. 37.*

Posterity Pays no Wages

Few can be induced to labor exclusively for posterity; and none will do it enthusiastically.——*Temperance Address, Feb. 22, 1842, vol. I, p. 201.*

Inspiration of Hope in Labor

Free labor has the inspiration of hope; pure slavery has no hope. The power of hope upon human exertion and happiness is wonderful.——*On Slavery, July 1, 1854, vol. II, p. 185.*

Self-interest Universal

Unless among those deficient of intellect, everybody you trade with makes something.——*Address on Negro Colonization, Aug. 14, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 7.*

Advancement the Universal Order.

Advancement—improvement in condition—is the order of things in a society of equals.——*Fragment on Slavery, July 1, 1854, vol. II, p. 185.*

Curse of the Shifted Burden

As labor is the common burden of our race, so the effort of some to shift their share of the burden onto the shoulders of others is the great durable curse of the race.——*Fragment on Slavery, July 1,1854, vol. II, p. 185.*

Must Have a Job

You must make a job for the bearer of this—make a job of it with the collector and have it done. You *can* do it for me and you *must.*——*Letter to James Pollock, Aug. 15, 1861, vol. VI, p. 344.*

Labor and its Product

Inasmuch as most good things are produced by labor, it follows that all such things of right belong to those whose labor has produced them. But it has so happened, in all ages of the world, that some have labored, and others have without labor enjoyed a large proportion of the fruits. This is wrong, and should not continue. To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, or as nearly as possible, is a worthy subject of any good government.——*Tarriff Discussion, Dec. 1, 1847, vol. I, p. 307.*

"Mud-sill" Labor Theory

A Yankee who could invent a strong-handed man without a head would receive the everlasting gratitude of the "mud-sill" advocates.——*Agricultural Address, Sept. 30, 1859, vol. V, p. 251.*

Wants to See the Money

We would always be easily satisfied, provided we could see the money—but whatever fee we earn at a distance, if not paid before, we have noticed, we

never hear of after the work is done. We, therefore, are growing a little sensitive on that point.——*Letter to James S. Irwin, Nov. 2, 1842, vol. XI, p. 99.*

Solidarity of Labor

The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds. ——*Reply to New York Working-Men, Mar. 21, 1864, vol. X, p. 53.*

Capitalists' Rule of Harmony

These capitalists generally act harmoniously and in concert, to fleece the people, and now, that they have got into a quarrel with themselves, we are called upon to appropriate the people's money to settle the quarrel.——*Speech before Illinois Legislature, Jan. 1837, vol. I, p. 24.*

Principle of Harmony

The same spirit says, "You toil and work and earn bread, and I'll eat it." No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle.——*Reply at Alton Debate, Oct. 15, 1858, vol. V, p. 65.*

Satan and the Bible

He has warred upon them as Satan wars upon the Bible.——*Reply at Alton Debate, Oct. 15, 1858, vol. V, p. 45.*

God and the Right Prevail

If we do right God will be with us, and if God is with us we cannot fail.——*Proclamation for Day of Prayer, July 7, 1864, vol. X, p. 149.*

Probability of Revelation

If it is probable that God would reveal His will to others on a point so connected with my duty, it might be supposed He would reveal it directly to me.——*Reply to Committee from Religious Denominations of Chicago, Ill., Sept. 13, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 29.*

Men not Flattered by Veracity

Men are not flattered by being shown that there has been a difference of purpose between the Almighty and them.——*Letter to Thurlow Weed, Mar. 15, 1865, vol. XI, p. 54.*

Neither Magic nor Miracle

The way these measures were to help the cause was not to be by magic or miracles.——*Letter to Charles D. Robinson, Aug. 17, 1864, vol. X. p. 194.*

Shorn Lamb and Tempered Wind

How true it is that "God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," or in other words, that He renders the worst of human conditions tolerable, while He permits the best to be nothing better than tolerable.——*Letter to Mary Speed, Sept. 27, 1841, vol. I, p. 179.*

Not His Kind of Religion

I am not much of a judge of religion, but, in my opinion, the religion that sets men to rebel and fight against their government, because, as they think, that government does not sufficiently help some men to eat their bread in the sweat of other men's faces, is not the sort of religion upon which people can get to heaven.——*Memorandum, Dec. 3, 1864, vol. X, p. 280.*

Forgiveness on Repentance

On principle I dislike an oath which requires a man to swear he has not done wrong. It rejects the Christian principle of forgiveness on terms of repentance. I think it is enough if the man does no wrong hereafter.——*Indorsement, Feb. 5, 1864, vol. IX, p. 303.*

Earnestness of Rebel Prayers

The rebel soldiers are praying with a great deal more earnestness, I fear, than our own troops, and

expecting God to favor their side; for one of our soldiers . . . said that he met with nothing so discouraging as the evident sincerity of those he was among in their prayers.——*Reply to Committee from the Religious Denominations of Chicago, Ill., Sept. 13, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 29.*

Prayers to the Same God

Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces.——*Second Inaugural Address, Mar. 4, 1865, vol. XI, p. 45.*

Value of Extemporaneous Speaking

Extemporaneous speaking should be practised and cultivated. It is the lawyer's avenue to the public. ——*Notes for a Law Lecture, July 1, 1850, vol. II, p. 141.*

Folly of Suspicion and Jealousy

The way for a young man to rise is to improve himself every way he can, never suspecting that anybody wishes to hinder him. Allow me to assure you that suspicion and jealousy never did help any man in any situation. There may sometimes be ungenerous attempts to keep a young man down; and they will

succeed, too, if he allows his mind to be diverted from its true channel to brood over the attempted injury.——*Letter to William H. Herndon, July 10, 1848, vol. II, p. 57.*

Young Men Must Push

You must not wait to be brought forward by the older men. . . . You young men get together and form a "Rough and Ready Club," and have regular meetings and speeches. Take in everybody you can get. . . . Let everyone play the part he can play best,—some speak, some sing, and all "holler."——*Letter to William H. Herndon, June 22, 1848, vol. II. p. 50.*

Safety Assured in Distance

I think perhaps it might be wise to hand this letter from me, in to your good uncle through his room-window *after* he has had a *comfortable dinner,* and watch its effect from the top of the pigeon-house.——*Letter to George E. Pickett, Feb. 22, 1842, vol. I, p. 191.*

Worth of Man's Self

It is difficult to make a man miserable while he feels he is worthy of himself and claims kindred to the great God who made him.——*Address on Negro Colonization, Aug. 14, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 5.*

Best of a Bad Bargain

If you make a bad bargain, hug it all the tighter. ——*Letter to Joshua F. Speed, Feb. 25, 1842, vol. I, p. 213.*

Force of Universal Feeling

A universal feeling, whether well or ill-founded, cannot be safely disregarded.——*Speech at Peoria, Ill., Oct. 16, 1854, vol. II, p. 207.*

Pinched Toes and Bad Motives

Ready are we all to cry out and ascribe motives when our own toes are pinched.——*Letter to Gen. Rosecrans, Mar. 17, 1863, vol. VIII, p. 228.*

How to Make Friends

"A drop of honey catches more flies than a gallon of gall." So with men. If you would win a man to your cause, first convince him that you are his sincere friend. Therein is a drop of honey which catches his heart, which, say what he will, is the great high-road to his reason.——*Temperance Address, Feb. 22, 1842, vol. I, p. 197.*

Maxim to Remember

Now, boy, on your march, don't you go and forget the old maxim that "one drop of honey catches more

flies than a half-gallon of gall." Load your musket with this maxim, and smoke it in your pipe.——*Letter to George E. Pickett, Feb. 22, 1842, vol. I, p. 192.*

Better Part of Life

The better part of one's life consists of his friendships.——*Letter to Joseph Gillespie, July 13, 1849, vol. II, p. 125.*

Effects of Misrepresentation

When a man hears himself somewhat misrepresented, it provokes him—at least, I find it so with myself; but when misrepresentation becomes very gross and palpable, it is more apt to amuse him.——*Reply at Ottawa Debate, Aug. 21, 1858, vol. III, p. 223.*

Silence not Always Safe

It is not entirely safe, when one is misrepresented under his very nose, to allow the misrepresentation to go uncontradicted.——*Speech at Columbus, O., Sept. 16, 1859, vol. V, p. 141.*

Relief for Embarrassment

When one is embarrassed, usually the shortest way to get through with it is to quit talking or thinking about it, and go at something else.——*Speech at Cincinnati, O., Sept. 17, 1859, vol. V, p. 190.*

Act Well Your Part

He who does *something* at the head of one regiment, will eclipse him who does *nothing* at the head of a hundred.——*Letter to Gen. Hunter, Dec. 31, 1861, vol. VII, p. 70.*

Military Successes Wanted

Only those generals who gain successes can set up dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship.——*Letter to Gen. Hooker, Jan. 26, 1863, vol. VIII, p. 207.*

No Holidays in War Times

War does not admit of holidays.——*Letter to T. H. Clay, Oct. 8, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 55.*

Rose-water Warfare

Would you drop the war where it is? Or would you prosecute it in future with elderstalk squirts charged with rose-water?——*Letter to Cuthbert Bullitt, July 28, 1862, vol. VII, p. 297.*

Carried away by Cowardly Legs

If the Lord gives a man a pair of cowardly legs, how can he help their running away with him?——*Telegram to Gen. Meade, Sept. 11, 1863, vol. IX, p. 117.*

Cæsar's Heart with Falstaff's Legs

"Captain, I have as brave a heart as Julius Cæsar ever had; but, somehow or other, whenever danger approaches, my cowardly legs will run away with it." ——*Speech on the Sub-treasury, Dec. 20, 1839, vol. 1, p. 136.*

Only McClellan's Body-guard

It is called the Army of the Potomac, but it is only McClellan's body-guard. . . . If McClellan is not using the Army I should like to borrow it for awhile. ——*Letter to Gen. McClellan, Apr. 9, 1862, vol. VII, p. 141.*

Color of Julius Cæsar's Hair

I personally wish Jacob Freese, of New Jersey, to be appointed colonel of a colored regiment, and this regardless of whether he can tell the exact shade of Julius Cæsar's hair.——*Note to Sec. Stanton, Nov. 11, 1863, vol. IX, p. 206.*

To Capture the Man in the Moon

To move down the Cumberland Valley, will, in my unprofessional opinion, be quite as likely to capture the "man in the moon" as any part of Lee's army. ——*Telegram to Gen. Thomas, July 8, 1863, vol. IX, p. 23.*

Generalships not Plentiful

You must know that major-generalships in the regular army are not as plenty as blackberries.——*Telegram to R. Yates and William Butler, Apr. 10, 1862, vol. VII, p. 145.*

Let the Crop Go to Waste

I believed that General Meade and his noble army had expended all the skill, and toil, and blood, up to the ripe harvest, and then let the crop go to waste.——*Letter to Gen. Howard, July 21, 1863, vol. IX, p. 39.*

Board at Home and Attack Enemy

I understand the main body of the enemy is very near you, so near that you could "board at home," so to speak, and menace or attack him any day.——*Telegram to Gen. Rosecrans, Oct. 4, 1863, vol. IX, p. 154.*

Animal Very Slim Somewhere

If the head of Lee's army is at Martinsburg and the tail of it on the plank road between Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, the animal must be very slim somewhere. Could you not break him?——*Telegram to Gen. Hooker, June 14, 1863, vol. VIII, p. 315.*

Going in and Coming Out

The most interesting news we now have is from Sherman. We all know where he went in, but I can't tell where he will come out.——*Response to a Serenade, Dec. 6, 1864, vol. X, p. 311.*

Heroic Confederate Recruiting

We are contending with an enemy, who, as I understand, drives every able-bodied man he can reach into his ranks, very much as a butcher drives bullocks into a slaughter-pen.——*Letter to Gov. Seymour, Aug. 7, 1863, vol. IX, p. 60.*

Holding On With Bull-Dog Grip

Hold on with a bull-dog grip, and chew and choke as much as possible——*Telegram to Gen. Grant, Aug. 17, 1864, vol. X, p. 193.*

Loss of Enemies Not a Gain

The loss of enemies does not compensate for the loss of friends.——*Telegram to Sec. Seward, June 30, 1862, vol. VII, p. 245.*

Let the Thing Be Pressed

Gen. Sheridan says "If the thing be pressed I think that Lee will surrender." Let the *thing* be pressed.——*Telegram to Gen. Grant, Apr. 7, 1865, vol. XI, p. 77.*

Flourishing on the Skewhorn Principle

Doubtless a small force of the enemy is flourishing about in the northern part of Virginia on the "skewhorn" principle.——*Telegram to Gov. Curtin, Apr. 28, 1863, vol. VIII, p. 257.*

Hold Position and Hive Enemy

If you can hold your present position, we shall hive the enemy yet.——*Telegram to Gen. McClellan, July 5, 1862, vol. VII, p. 261.*

Smoky Localities Held Responsible

Experience has already taught us in this war that holding these smoky localities responsible for the conflagrations within them has a very salutary effect. ——*Letter to J. R. Underwood and H. Grider, Oct. 26, 1864, vol. X, p. 254.*

Rank on Paper a Small Matter

Truth to speak, I do not appreciate this matter of rank on paper as you officers do.——*Letter to Gen. Rosecrans, Mar. 17, 1863, vol. VIII, p. 228.*

Merely a Question of Legs

Assuming this, it is for you a question of legs. Put in all the speed you can.——*Telegram to Gen. McDowell, May 28, 1862, vol. VII, p. 198.*

On the Fence

I would not take any risk of being entangled upon the river, like an ox jumped half over a fence and liable to be torn by dogs front and rear without a fair chance to gore one way or kick the other.——*Telegram to Gen. Hooker, June 5, 1863, vol. VIII, p. 292.*

Uncle Sam's Web-Feet

Nor must Uncle Sam's web-feet be forgotten. At all the watery margins they have been present.——*Letter to James C. Conkling, Aug. 26, 1863, vol. IX, p. 101.*

Walking to Save Skin

Does Joe Heiskell's "walking to meet us" mean any more than that "Joe" was scared and wanted to save his skin?——*Telegram to Gov. Johnson, Aug. 2, 1864, vol. X, p. 179.*

Way to Succeed Is to Try

I say "try"; if we never try, we shall never succeed.——*Letter to Gen. McClellan, Oct. 13, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 59.*

Adjusting Taxes Exactly

If we should wait before collecting a tax, to adjust the taxes upon each man in exact proportion

with every other man, we should never collect any tax at all.——*Address to 164th Ohio Regiment, Aug. 18, 1864, vol. X, p. 200.*

Any Thinking Better Than None

It is better only sometimes to be right than at all times to be wrong.——*Address to the People of Sangamon Co., Mar. 9, 1832, vol. I, p. 8.*

Working Together Brings Success

We can succeed only by concert. It is not "Can any of us imagine better?" but, "can we all do better?"——*Annual Message to Congress, Dec. 1, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 130.*

Deeds, Not Words, Wanted

Tell him, when he starts, to put it through—not to be writing or telegraphing back here, but put it through.——*Letter to Sec. Cameron, June 20, 1861, vol. VI, p. 294.*

How to Get Things Done

Determine that the thing can and shall be done, and then we shall find the way. . . . How to do something and still not do too much is the desideratum.——*Speech on Internal Improvements, June 20, 1848, vol. II, p. 46.*

Practice the Best Proof

Practice proves more than theory, in any case.——*Annual Message to Congress, Dec. 1, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 128.*

More Than Breath Wanted

The North responds to the proclamation sufficiently in breath; but breath alone kills no rebels.——*Letter to Hannibal Hamlin, Sept. 28, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 50.*

In His Own Good Time

I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause.——*Letter to Charles D. Robinson, Aug. 17, 1864, vol. X, p. 194.*

Vigilance Is the Price of Success

It will neither be done nor attempted, unless you watch it every day and hour, and force it.——*Telegram to Gen. Grant, Aug. 3, 1864, vol. X, p. 180.*

President in Name and Fact

I propose continuing to be myself the judge as to when a member of the Cabinet shall be dismissed.——*Letter to Sec. Stanton, July 14, 1864, vol. X, p. 158.*

Not Fooled by Girls

Others have been made fools of by the girls, but this can never with truth be said of me. I most emphatically, in this instance, made a fool of myself. ——*Letter to Mrs. O. H. Browning, Apr. 1, 1838, vol. I, p. 92.*

Feeling Toward Women

Whatever woman may cast her lot with mine, should any ever do so, it is my intention to do all in my power to make her happy and contented; and there is nothing I can imagine that would make me more unhappy than to fail in the effort.——*Letter to Miss Mary Owens, May 7, 1837, vol. I, p. 53.*

Not Satisfied With Blockheads

I have now come to the conclusion never again to think of marrying, and for this reason—I can never be satisfied with anyone who would be blockhead enough to have me.——*Letter to Mrs. O. H. Browning, Apr. 1, 1838, vol. I, p. 92.*

Plead Only What You Must

In law, it is good policy to never plead what you need not, lest you oblige yourself to prove what you cannot.——*Letter to U. F. Linder, Feb. 20, 1848, vol. II, p. 3.*

Honor for Women

I want in all cases to do right, and most particularly so in all cases with women.——*Letter to Miss Mary Owens, Aug. 16, 1837, vol. I, p. 56.*

Marrying Southern Girls

We mean to marry your girls when we have a chance—the white ones, I mean, and I have the honor to inform you that I once did have a chance in that way.——*Speech at Cincinnati, O., Sept. 17, 1859, vol. V, p. 218.*

God Bless the Women

I am not accustomed to the use of language of eulogy; I have never studied the art of paying compliments to women; but I must say, that if all that has been said by orators and poets since the creation of the world in praise of women were applied to the women of America, it would not do them justice for their conduct during this war. I will close by saying, God bless the women of America.——*Remarks on Closing Sanitary Fair in Washington, Mar. 18, 1864, vol. X, p. 48.*

Good Lawyer in a Bad Case

I have sometimes seen a good lawyer, struggling for his client's neck in a desperate case, employing

every artifice to work round, befog and cover up with many words some point arising in the case which he dared not admit and yet could not deny. ——*Mexican War Speech, Jan. 12, 1848, vol. I, p. 337.*

Groomsman to His Rival

In getting Baker the nomination I shall be fixed a good deal like a fellow who is made a groomsman to a man that has cut him out and is marrying his own dear "gal."——*Letter to Joshua F. Speed, Mar. 24, 1843, vol. I, p. 261.*

Ready to Hang the Panel

A jury too frequently has at least one member more ready to hang the panel than to hang the traitor.——*Letter to Erastus Corning, June 12, 1863, vol. VIII, p. 303.*

Mob Law Not a Redress

There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob law.——*Lyceum Address, Jan. 27, 1837, vol. I, p. 44.*

Severity Not Best Policy

The severest justice may not always be the best policy.——*Message to Congress, July 17, 1862, vol. VII, p. 283.*

Lawyers as Peace-Makers

Discourage litigation. Persuade your neighbor to compromise whenever you can. . . . As a peace-maker the lawyer has a superior opportunity of being a good man. There will still be business enough.——*Notes for a Law Lecture, July 1, 1850, vol. II, p. 142.*

No Wrong Without a Remedy

It is a maxim held by the courts, that there is no wrong without its remedy; and the courts have a remedy for whatever is acknowledged and treated as a wrong.——*Reply at Jonesboro Debate, Sept. 15, 1858, vol. IV, p. 60.*

Life More Than Limb

By general law, life and limb must be protected, yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life; but a life is never wisely given to save a limb.——*Letter to A. G. Hodges, Apr. 4, 1864, vol. X, p. 66.*

An Honest Lawyer or Not at All

Let no young man choosing the law for a calling for a moment yield to the popular belief—resolve to be honest at all events; and if in your own judgment you cannot be an honest lawyer, resolve to be honest without being a lawyer.——*Notes for a Law Lecture, July 1, 1850, vol. II, p. 143.*

Leading Rule for All Callings

The leading rule for the lawyer, as for the man of every other calling, is diligence. Leave nothing for to-morrow which can be done to-day.——*Notes for a Law Lecture, July 1, 1850, vol. II, p. 141.*

How Public Purpose Is Indicated

The most reliable indication of public purpose in this country is derived through our popular elections.——*Annual Message to Congress, Dec. 6, 1864, vol. X, p. 304.*

Trust the People With Their Own

We see it, and to us it appears like principle, and the best sort of principle at that—the principle of allowing the people to do as they please with their own business.——*Speech in Congress, July 27, 1848, vol. II, p. 64.*

Dissolution of the Union Impossible

All this talk about the dissolution of the Union is humbug, nothing but folly. We do not want to dissolve the Union; you shall not.——*Speech at Galena, Ill., Aug. 1, 1856, vol. II, p. 295.*

Spirit of the Constitution

It is said the devil takes care of his own. Much more should a good spirit—the spirit of the Consti-

tution and the Union—take care of its own. I think it cannot do less and live.——*Opinion on Admission of West Virginia, Dec. 31, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 158.*

Allaying Plaster an Irritant

That very allaying plaster of Judge Douglas' stirred it up again.——*Reply at Alton Debate, Oct. 15, 1858, vol. V, p. 45.*

Cure for Artificial Crisis

This crisis is altogether artificial. It has no foundation in fact. It can't be argued up, and it can't be argued down. Let it alone, and it will go down of itself.——*Address at Cleveland, O., Feb. 15, 1861, vol. VI, p. 131.*

Laws Among Aliens and Friends

Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? ——*First Inaugural Address, Mar. 4, 1861, vol. VI, p. 181.*

Union Forever at Any Cost

If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it

by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that.——*Letter to Horace Greeley, Aug. 22, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 16.*

Devoted to Peace and Brotherhood

With my consent, or without my great displeasure, this country shall never witness the shedding of one drop of blood in fraternal strife.——*Reply to Gov. Curtin, Feb. 22, 1861, vol. VI, p. 161.*

Sugar-Coated Rebellion

With rebellion thus sugar-coated, they have been drugging the public mind of their section for more than thirty years.——*Message to Congress, July 4, 1861, vol. VI, p. 313.*

No Chickens From Smashed Eggs

Concede that the new government of Louisiana is only what it should be, as the egg to the fowl, we shall sooner have the fowl by hatching the egg than by smashing it.——*Last Public Address, Apr. 11, 1865, vol. XI, p. 91.*

Thorn in Animal's Vitals

This rebellion can only eke out a short and feeble existence, as an animal sometimes may with a thorn in its vitals.——*Letter to Gen. Halleck, Sept. 21, 1863, vol. IX, p. 132.*

Foul Bird and Dirty Reptile

Every foul bird comes abroad and every dirty reptile rises up.——*Letter to Charles D. Drake and Others, Oct. 5, 1863, vol. IX, p. 157.*

Quiet Past and Stormy Present

The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present.——*Annual Message to Congress, Dec. 1, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 131.*

No Mending for Broken Eggs

Broken eggs cannot be mended; but Louisiana has nothing to do now but to take her place in the Union as it was, barring the already broken eggs. ——*Letter to August Belmont, July 31, 1862, vol. VII, p. 299.*

Stopping One Leak to Open Another

Do we gain anything by opening one leak to stop another? Do we gain anything by quieting one clamor merely to open another, and probably a larger one?——*Telegram to Col. A. K. McClure, June 30, 1863, vol. IX, p. 14.*

Politicians and Honest Men

This work is exclusively the work of politicians; a set of men who have interests aside from the inter-

ests of the people, and who, to say the most of them, are. taken as a mass, at least one long step removed from honest men. I say this with the greater freedom because, being a politician myself, none can regard it as personal.——*Bank Speech, Jan., 1837, vol. I, p. 27.*

Paying the Fiddler Generously

It is an old maxim and a very sound one that he that dances should always pay the fiddler. Now, sir, if any gentlemen, whose money is a burden to them, choose to lead off a dance, I am decidedly opposed to the people's money being used to pay the fiddler. ——*Speech before Illinois Legislature, Jan., 1837, vol. I, p. 23.*

Vulnerable Heels Make Fast Time

"The Democrats are vulnerable in the heel but they are sound in the head and the heart." The first branch of the figure—that is, that the Democrats are vulnerable in the heel—I admit is not merely figuratively, but literally true. . . . It seems that this malady of their heels operates on these sound-minded and honest-hearted creatures very much like the cork leg in the comic song did on its owner: which, when he had once got started on it, the more he tried to stop it, the more it would run away.——*Speech on Sub-Treasury, Dec. 20, 1839, vol. I, p. 136.*

Not Last, but Never to Desert

Many free countries have lost their liberty, and ours may lose hers; but if she shall, be it my proudest plume, not that I was the last to desert, but that I never deserted her.——*Speech on Sub-treasury, Dec. 20, 1839, vol. I, p. 137.*

Piloting the Ship of State

As a pilot I have used my best exertions to keep afloat our Ship of State, and shall be glad to resign my trust at the appointed time to another pilot more skillful and successful than I may prove.——*Reply to Presbyterian General Assembly, May 30, 1863, vol. VIII, p. 288.*

Save the Country First

Let the friends of the government first save the government and then administer it to their own liking.——*Letter to Henry Winter Davis, Mar. 18, 1863, vol. VIII, p. 229.*

A New Nation Conceived in Liberty

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.——*Gettysburg Address, Nov. 19, 1863, vol. IX, p. 209.*

Putting the Foot Down Firmly

The man does not live who is more devoted to peace than I am, but it may be necessary to put the foot down firmly.——*Address to New Jersey Assembly, Feb. 21, 1861, vol. VI, p. 154.*

Progressive Conservatism

I am very glad the elections this autumn have gone favorably, and that I have not, by native depravity or under evil influences, done anything bad enough to prevent the good result. I hope to "stand firm" enough to not go backward, and yet not go forward fast enough to wreck the country's cause. ——*Letter to Zachariah Chandler, Nov. 20, 1863, vol. IX, p. 213.*

Devotion to the Union

I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by, and, if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, to die by.——*Address in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Feb. 22, 1861, vol. VI, p. 156.*

Self-Government and Despotism

When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism.——*Speech at Peoria, Ill., Oct. 16, 1854, vol. II, p. 227.*

"Buts" and "Ifs" and "Ands"

The man who stands by and says nothing when the peril of his government is discussed, cannot be misunderstood. If not hindered, he is sure to help the enemy; much more if he talks ambiguously—talks for his country with "buts," and "ifs," and "ands."——*Letter to Erastus Corning, June 12, 1863, vol. VIII, p. 305.*

Voters Who Vote the Real Power

It is not the qualified voters, but the qualified voters who choose to vote, that constitute the political power of the State.——*Opinion on Admission of West Virginia, Dec. 31, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 157.*

Preservation of Liberty a Duty

If there is anything which it is the duty of the whole people to never intrust to any hands but their own, that thing is the preservation and perpetuity of their own liberties and institutions.——*Speech at Peoria, Ill., Oct. 16, 1854, vol. II, p. 235.*

Ballots, Not Bullets, Give Victory

To give the victory to the right, not bloody bullets, but peaceful ballots only are necessary. Thanks to our good old Constitution, and organization under it, these alone are necessary. It only needs that

every right thinking man shall go to the polls, and without fear or prejudice vote as he thinks.——*Notes for Speeches, Oct. 1, 1858, vol. IV, p. 235.*

No Appeal from Ballot to Bullet

Among free men there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet, and they who take such appeal are sure to lose their case and pay the cost. ——*Letter to James C. Conkling, Aug. 26, 1863, vol. IX, p. 101.*

True Law of Divine Right

No man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent.——*Speech at Peoria, Ill., Oct. 16, 1854, vol. II, p. 228.*

Preparation for Tyranny

Familiarize yourself with the chains of bondage and you prepare your own limbs to wear them. Accustomed to trample on the rights of others, you have lost the genius of your own independence and become the fit subject of the first cunning tyrant who rises among you.——*Fragment of Speech at Edwardsville, Ill., Sept. 13, 1858, vol. XI, p. 110.*

Individual Rights a Natural Law

I believe each individual is naturally entitled to do as he pleases with himself and the fruit of his

labor, so far as it in no wise interferes with any other man's rights.——*Speech at Chicago, Ill., July 10, 1858, vol. III, p. 35.*

Equality in Society

Equality in society alike beats inequality, whether the latter be of the British aristocratic sort or of the domestic slavery sort.——*On Slavery, July 1, 1854, vol. II, p. 184.*

All Men Created Equal

Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring that "all men are created equal." We now practically read it "all men are created equal, except negroes." When the Know-nothings get control, it will read "all men are created equal except negroes and foreigners and Catholics." When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretence of loving liberty,—to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy.——*Letter to Joshua F. Speed, Aug. 24, 1855, vol. II, p. 287.*

The Law of Liberty

I am for the people of the whole nation doing just as they please in all matters which concern the whole nation; for those of each part doing just as

they choose in all matters which concern no other part; and for each individual doing just as he chooses in all matters which concern nobody else.——*Notes for Speeches, Oct. 1, 1858, vol. IV, p. 231.*

Object of Government

The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot so well do, for themselves, in their separate and individual capacities. In all that the people can individually do as well for themselves, government ought not to interfere.——*On Government, July 1, 1854, vol. II, p. 186.*

Government by Majority

I reiterate that the majority should rule. If I adopt a wrong policy, the opportunity for condemnation will occur in four years' time. Then I can be turned out, and a better man with better views put in my place.——*Address at Steubenville, O., Feb. 14, 1861, vol. VI, p. 123.*

Nature of Political Sovereignty

What is "sovereignty" in the political sense of the term? Would it be far wrong to define it "a political community without a political superior?"——*Message to Congress, July 4, 1861, vol. VI, p. 315.*

True Popular Sovereignty

I think a definition of "popular sovereignty," in the abstract, would be about this: That each man shall do precisely as he pleases with himself, and with all those things that exclusively concern him . . . that a general government shall do all those things which pertain to it, and all the local governments shall do precisely as they please in respect to those matters which exclusively concern them.——*Speech at Columbus, O., Sept. 16, 1859, vol. V, p. 149.*

French Cook and Potato Soups

Coming to the substance, the first point, "popular sovereignty." It is to be labeled upon the cars in which he travels; put upon the hacks he rides in; to be flaunted upon the arches he passes under, and the banners which wave over him. It is to be dished up in as many varieties as a French cook can produce soups from potatoes.——*Speech at Springfield, Ill., July 17, 1858, vol. III, p. 160.*

Equality and Prosperity

When we were the political slaves of King George, and wanted to be free, we called the maxim that "all men are created equal" a self-evident truth, but now when we have grown fat, and have lost all dread of being slaves ourselves, we have become so greedy to be masters that we call the same maxim "a self-evi-

dent lie." The Fourth of July has not quite dwindled away; it is still a great day—for burning firecrackers!!!——*Letter to George Robertson, Aug 15, 1855, vol. II, p. 279.*

Douglas' "Popular Sovereignty"

He discovered that the right to breed and flog negroes in Nebraska was popular sovereignty.——*Speech at Paris, Ill., Sept. 8, 1858, vol. XI, p. 106.*

The Isolation of Genius

Towering genius disdains a beaten path.——*Lyceum Address, Jan. 27, 1837, vol. I, p. 46.*

Smoke the Best Witness

We better know there is fire whence we see much smoke rising than we could know it by one or two witnesses swearing to it. The witnesses may commit perjury, but the smoke cannot.——*Letter to J. R. Underwood and H. Grider, Oct. 26, 1864, vol. X, p. 254.*

Bored by Bad Handwriting

I have already been bored more than enough about it; not the least of which annoyance is his cursed, unreadable, and ungodly handwriting.——*Letter to William H. Herndon, Jan. 19, 1848, vol. I, p. 351.*

Bad Food But Good Medicine

. . . No more I can be persuaded that a particular drug is not good medicine for a sick man because it can be shown to not be good food for a well one.——*Letter to Erastus Corning and Others, June 12, 1863, vol. VIII, p. 309.*

Acquired Appetite for Emetics

No more am I able to believe that a man could contract so strong an appetite for emetics during temporary illness as to persist in feeding upon them during the remainder of his healthful life.——*Letter to Erastus Corning and Others, June 12, 1863, vol. VIII, p. 310.*

Yankee Pedler's Pantaloons

Like the pair of pantaloons the Yankee peddler offered for sale, "large enough for any man, small enough for any boy."——*Speech at Worcester, Mass., Sept. 12, 1848, vol. II, p. 92.*

Cut Its Own Fodder

Under Mr. Adams and the presidents before him, it [the Post-office] not only, to use a homely phrase, cut its own fodder, but actually threw a surplus into the treasury.——*Speech on the Sub-treasury, Dec. 20, 1839, vol. I, p. 131.*

Adding the Weight of Hogs

This is as plain as adding up the weight of three small hogs.——*Letter to Harrison Maltby, Sept. 8, 1856, vol. II, p. 297.*

Grandson of Milliken's Bend

The writer . . . is a grandson of "Milliken's Bend," near Vicksburg—that is, a grandson of the man who gave name to Milliken's Bend.——*Letter to Sec. Chase, Oct. 26, 1863, vol. IX, p. 183.*

Father of Waters Unvexed

The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea.——*Letter to James C. Conkling, Aug. 26, 1863, vol. IX, p. 100.*

Territories of the Moon

Now this provision . . . had no more direct reference to Nebraska than it had to the territories of the moon.——*Speech at Peoria, Ill., Oct. 16, 1854, vol. II, p. 213.*

Like a Kicking Gun

This opinion of Mr. Jefferson, in one branch at least, is, in the hands of Mr. Polk, like McFingal's gun—"bears wide and kicks the owner over."——*Speech on Internal Improvements, June 20, 1848, vol. II, p. 39.*

Dragging Chestnuts from the Fire

By much dragging of chestnuts from the fire for others to eat, his claws are burnt off to the gristle, and he is thrown aside as unfit for further use.——*Speech at Chicago Banquet, Dec. 10, 1856, vol. II, p. 309.*

Homeopathic Pigeon Soup

Has it not got down as thin as the homeopathic soup that was made by boiling the shadow of a pigeon that had starved to death?——*Rejoinder at Quincy Debate, Oct. 13, 1858, vol. IV, p. 380.*

Wood Soaked for Ox-Bows

Like wood for ox-bows, they are merely being soaked in it preparatory to the bending.——*Speeches in Kansas, Dec. 1–5, 1859, vol. V, p. 271.*

Well-Known Georgia Costume

If that's the plan, they should begin at the foundation, and adopt the well-known "Georgia costume" of a shirt collar and a pair of spurs.——*Speech at Hartford, Conn., Mar. 5, 1860, vol. V, p. 337.*

Producing Two Blades of Grass

Every blade of grass is a study; and to produce two where there was but one is both a profit and a pleasure.——*Agricultural Address, Sept. 30, 1859, vol. V, p. 253.*

Setting the Human Eel-Trap

The fisherman's wife whose drowned husband was brought home with his body full of eels, said when she was asked what was to be done with him, "Take the eels out and set him again."——*Reply at Galesburg Debate, Oct. 7, 1858, vol. IV, p. 279.*

Irishman and New Boots

How could we make any entirely new improvement by means of tonnage duties? The idea that we could, involves the same absurdity as the Irish bull about the new boots. "I shall never git 'em on," says Patrick, "till I wear 'em a day or two, and stretch 'em a little."——*Lecture on Internal Improvements, June 20, 1848, vol. II, p. 42.*

Pugnacious Exchange of Overcoats

I remember being once much amused at seeing two particularly intoxicated men engaged in a fight with their great coats on, which fight, after a long and rather harmless contest, ended in each having fought himself out of his own coat and into that of the other. ——*Letter to H. L. Pierce and Others, Apr. 6, 1859, vol. V, p. 125.*

New Men Made from Old

A fellow once advertised that he had made a discovery by which he could make a new man out of an

old one, and have enough of the stuff left to make a little yellow dog.——*Speech in Congress, July 27, 1848, vol. II, p. 73.*

Starving Between Stacks of Hay

We have all heard of the animal standing in doubt between two stacks of hay and starving to death. The like of that would never happen to General Cass. Place the stacks a thousand miles apart, he would stand stock-still midway between them, and eat them both at once, and the green grass along the line would be apt to suffer some, too.——*Speech in Congress, July 27, 1848, vol. II, p. 83.*

Divided Gangs of Hogs

I have heard some things from New York, and if they are true, one might well say of your party there, as a drunken fellow once said when he heard the reading of an indictment for hog-stealing. The clerk read on till he got to and through the words "did steal, take, and carry away ten boars, ten sows, ten shoats, and ten pigs," at which he exclaimed, "Well, by golly, that is the most equally divided gang of hogs I ever did hear of!" If there is any other gang of hogs more equally divided than the Democrats of New York are about this time, I have not heard of it.——*Speech in Congress, July 27, 1848, vol. II, p. 88.*

First Invention a Joint Operation

The very first invention was a joint operation, Eve having shared with Adam the getting up of the apron. And, indeed, judging from the fact that sewing has come down to our times as "woman's work" it is very probable she took the leading part,—he, perhaps, doing no more than to stand by and thread the needle. That proceeding may be reckoned as the mother of all "sewing societies" and the first and most perfect "World's Fair," all inventions and all inventors then in the world being on the spot.——*Lecture on Discoveries, Inventions and Improvements, Feb. 22, 1859, vol. V, p. 106.*

Last Shriek on Retreat

His idea was that it would be considered our last shriek on the retreat.——*Account of the Emancipation Proclamation, Feb. 6, 1864, vol. X, p. 2.*

Last of Old Serpent's Tail

The last tip of the last joint of the old serpent's tail was just drawing out of view.——*Reply at Alton Debate, Oct. 15, 1858, vol. V, p. 46.*

Who Should be Slaves

I have always thought that all men should be free; but if any should be slaves, it should be first those

who desire it for themselves, and secondly, those who desire it for others.——*Address to Indiana Regiment, Mar. 17, 1865, vol. XI, p. 56.*

Egypt of the West

They . . . must have access to this Egypt of the West without paying toll.——*Annual Message, Dec. 1, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 115.*

Freedom to Every Creature

If we cannot give freedom to every creature, let us do nothing that will impose slavery upon any other creature.——*Speech at Chicago, Ill., July 10, 1858, vol. III, p. 51.*

Take His Own Medicine

When I hear anyone arguing for slavery, I feel a strong impulse to see it tried on him personally.——*Address to Indiana Regiment, Mar. 17, 1865, vol. XI, p. 56.*

A Durable Struggle for Freedom

I think we have fairly entered upon a durable struggle as to whether this nation is to ultimately become all slave or all free, and though I fall early in the contest, it is nothing if I shall have contributed, in the least degree, to the final restful result.——*Letter to H. D. Sharpe, Dec. 18, 1858, vol. V, p. 96.*

Let Him Enjoy What God Gave

All I ask for the negro is that if you do not like him, let him alone. If God gave him but little, that little let him enjoy.——*Speech at Springfield, Ill., July 17, 1858, vol. III, p. 186.*

Wrecked Negro on the Plank

If it was like two wrecked seamen on a narrow plank, where each must push the other off or drown himself, I would push the negro off,—or a white man either; but it is not: the plank is large enough for both.——*Speech at New Haven, Conn., Mar. 6, 1860, vol. V, p. 352.*

To Keep the Jewel of Liberty

They [negroes in Louisiana] would probably help, in some trying time to come, to keep the jewel of liberty within the family of freedom.——*Letter to Governor Hahn, Mar. 13, 1864, vol. X, p. 39.*

Neither Slave nor Wife

I protest against the counterfeit logic which concludes that, because I do not want a black woman for a slave I must necessarily want her for a wife. I need not have her for either. I can just leave her alone.——*Speech at Springfield, Ill., June 27, 1857, vol. II, p. 329.*

Small Cures for Great Sores

Our best and greatest men have greatly underestimated the size of this question. They have constantly brought forward small cures for great sores—plasters too small to cover the wound.——*Speech at New Haven, Conn., Mar. 6, 1860, vol. V, p. 343.*

Chestnut Horse Argument

Anything that argues me into his idea of perfect social and political equality with the negro is but a specious and fantastic arrangement of words, by which a man can prove a horse-chestnut to be a chestnut horse.——*Reply at Ottawa Debate, Aug. 21, 1858, vol. III, p. 229.*

Slavery Founded in Selfishness

Slavery is founded in the selfishness of man's nature—opposition to it in his love of justice.——*Speech at Peoria, Ill., Oct. 16, 1854, vol. II, p. 238.*

Snake a Jewel, Wen an Ornament

In front of us sat an old gentleman with an enormous wen upon his neck . . . The wen represents slavery upon the neck of this country. . . . Those who think it right would consider the snake a jewel and the wen an ornament.——*Speech at Hartford, Conn., Mar. 5, 1860, vol. V, p. 333.*

Southern Abolition and Northern Slavery

We know that some Southern men do free their slaves, go North and become tip-top Abolitionists, while some Northern ones go South and become most cruel slave-masters.——*Speech at Peoria, Ill., Oct. 16, 1854, vol. II, p. 206.*

Cutting Each Other's Throats

How much better . . . than to sink both the things to be sold and the price of it in cutting one another's throats?——*Appeal in Favor of Compensated Emancipation, July 12, 1862, vol. VII, p. 272.*

Every Drop of Blood

If it [the war] continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword.——*Second Inaugural Address, Mar. 4, 1865, vol. XI, p. 46.*

Different Ideas of Liberty

The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as his liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act, as the destroyer of liberty, especially if the sheep was a black one. Plainly, the sheep and the

wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word liberty; and precisely the same difference prevails to-day among us human creatures, even in the North, and all professing to love liberty.——*Address at Sanitary Fair in Baltimore, Apr. 18, 1864, vol. X, p. 77.*

Marks to Endure Forever

The race gave me a hearing on the great and durable question of the age, which I could have had in no other way; and though I now sink out of view, and shall be forgotten, I believe I have made some marks which will tell for the cause of civil liberty long after I am gone.——*Letter to A. G. Henry, Nov. 19, 1858, vol. V, p. 95.*

Snake in the Children's Bed

If I saw a venomous snake crawling in the road, any man would say I might seize the nearest stick and kill it; but if I found that snake in bed with my children, that would be another question. I might hurt the children more than the snake, and it might bite them. Much more, if I found it in bed with my neighbor's children, and I had bound myself by a solemn compact not to meddle with his children under any circumstances, it would become me to let that particular mode of getting rid of the gentleman alone. But if there was a bed newly made up, to which the children were to be taken, and it was pro-

posed to take a batch of young snakes and put them there with them, I take it no man would say there was any question how I ought to decide.——*Speech at New Haven, Conn., Mar. 6, 1860, vol. V, p. 347.*

Fire from Cake of Tallow

It's a lie, and not a well told one at that. It grins out like a copper dollar . . . as for getting a good, bright passable lie out of him, you might as well try to strike fire from a cake of tallow.——*Letter from the Lost Townships, Aug. 27, 1842, vol. I, p. 226.*

Entangled Head and Tail

In one faculty, at least, there can be no dispute of the gentleman's superiority over me, and most other men; and that is, the faculty of entangling a subject, so that neither himself, nor any other man can find head or tail to it.——*Speech before Illinois Legislature, Jan. [?], 1837, vol. I, p. 20.*

Long and Short of It

Let the judge go on, and after he is done with his half hour, I want you all, if I can't go home myself, to let me stay and rot here; and if anything happens to the judge, if I cannot carry him to the hotel and put him to bed, let me stay here and rot.——*Reply at Jonesboro Debate, Sept. 15, 1858, vol. IV, p. 69.*

No Way to Stop Him

If a man will stand up and assert, and repeat and re-assert, that two and two do not make four, I know nothing in the power of argument that can stop him. I think I can answer the judge so long as he sticks to the premises; but when he flies from them, I cannot work any argument into the consistency of a mental gag and actually close his mouth with it.——*Speech at Peoria, Ill., Oct. 16, 1854, vol. II, p. 262.*

Don't Know What Else to Call Him

I don't want to quarrel with him,—to call him a liar,—but when I come square up to him I don't know what else to call him, if I must tell the truth out.——*Reply at Jonesboro Debate, Sept. 15, 1858, vol. IV, p. 70.*

Reason and Authority

There are two ways of establishing a proposition. One is by trying to demonstrate it upon reason, and the other is, to show that great men in former times have thought so and so, and thus to pass it by the weight of pure authority.——*Speech at Columbus, O., Sept. 16, 1859, vol. V, p. 172.*

Black Hawk Military Hero

Did you know I am a military hero? Yes, sir; in the days of the Black Hawk war I fought, bled and

came away. . . . I was not at Stillman's defeat, but I was about as near it as Cass was to Hull's surrender; and like him, I saw the place very soon afterwards.——*Speech in Congress, July 27, 1848, vol. II, p. 75.*

Marks and Brands Described

I am, in height, six feet four inches, nearly; lean in flesh, weighing on an average one hundred and eighty pounds; dark complexion, with coarse black hair and gray eyes. No other marks or brands recollected.——*Letter to J. W. Fell, Dec. 20, 1859, vol. V. p. 288.*

Loved Flattery but Got Little

I was not very much accustomed to flattery, and it came the sweeter to me. I was rather like the Hoosier with the gingerbread, when he said he reckoned he loved it better than any other man, and got less of it.——*Reply at Ottawa Debate, Aug. 21, 1858, vol. III, p. 238.*

Attention to the Soap Question

Some specimens of your soap have been used at our house and Mrs. L. declares it is a superior article. She at the same time protests that *I* have never given sufficient attention to the "soap question" to be a competent judge.——*Letter to Professor Gardner, Sept. 28, 1860, vol. VI, p. 60.*

Bloody Struggles with Mosquitoes

It is quite certain I did not break my sword, for I had none to break; but I bent a musket pretty badly on one occasion. If Cass broke his sword, the idea is he broke it in desperation; I bent the musket by accident. If General Cass went in advance of me in picking huckleberries, I guess I surpassed him in charges upon the wild onions. If he saw any live fighting Indians, it was more than I did; but I had a good many bloody struggles with the mosquitoes, and although I never fainted from the loss of blood, I can truly say I was often very hungry.——*Speech in Congress, July 27, 1848, vol. II, p. 75.*

Distinction in Congress

As you are all so anxious for me to distinguish myself, I have concluded to do so before long.——*Letter to William H. Herndon, Dec. 13, 1847, vol. I, p. 317.*

Self Distrust and Regained Confidence

I must gain my confidence in my own ability to keep my resolves when they are made. In that ability you know I once prided myself. . . . I have not yet regained it; and until I do, I cannot trust myself in any matter of much importance.——*Letter to J. F. Speed, July 4, 1842, vol. I, p. 218.*

Teaching the "Three R's"

No qualification was ever required of a teacher beyond "readin', writin' and cipherin' " to the rule of three. If a straggler supposed to understand Latin happened to sojourn in the neighborhood, he was looked upon as a wizard.——*Letter to J. W. Fell, Dec. 20, 1589, vol. V, p. 287.*

Task Greater Than Washington's

I cannot but know what you all know, that without a name, perhaps without a reason why I should have a name, there has fallen upon me a task such as did not rest even upon the Father of his Country. ——*Address to Ohio Legislature at Columbus, O., Feb. 13, 1861, vol. VI, p. 121.*

Hugged by a Russian Bear

Just to think of it! right at the outset of his canvass, I, a poor, kind, amiable, intelligent gentleman —I am to be slain in this way. Why, my friend the judge, is not only, as it turns out, not a dead lion, nor even a living one—he is the rugged Russian bear. ——*Speech at Chicago, Ill., July 10, 1858, vol. III, p. 20.*

Nonsense Hurts Nobody

In my present position it is hardly proper for me to make speeches. Every word is so closely noted

that it will not do to make foolish ones, and I cannot be expected to be prepared to make sensible ones. If I were as I have been for most of my life, I might, perhaps, talk nonsense to you for half an hour, and it wouldn't hurt anybody.——*Remarks at Frederick, Md., Oct. 4, 1862, vol. XI, p. 125.*

Hopeless Effort to Convince

I suppose I cannot reasonably hope to convince you that we have any principles. The most I can expect is to assure you that we think we have, and are quite contented with them.——*Speech in Congress, July 27, 1848, vol. II, p. 70.*

Devotion to the Union

I cannot fly from my thoughts—my solicitude for this great country follows me wherever I go. I do not think it is personal vanity or ambition, though I am not free from these infirmities, but I cannot but feel that the weal or woe of this great nation will be decided in November.——*Interview with John T. Mills, Aug. 15, 1864, vol. X, p. 189.*

Squeezed Out in the Middle

Your discomfited assailants are most bitter against me; and they will, for revenge upon me, lay to the Bates egg in the South, and to the Seward egg in the North, and go far toward squeezing me out in

the middle with nothing. Can you not help me a little in this matter in your end of the vineyard?——*Letter to N. B. Judd, Feb. 9, 1860, vol. V, p. 291.*

An Alexander in Obscurity

I would like to know who is the great Alexander that talks so oracularly about "if the President keeps his word" and Banks not having "capacity to run an omnibus on Broadway?" How has this Alexander's immense light been obscured hitherto?——*Letter to F. P. Blair, Sr., July 30, 1863, vol. IX, p. 49.*

Tied to Military Coat-Tails

All his biographies (and they are legion) have him in hand, tying him to a military tail, like so many mischievous boys tying a dog to a bladder of beans. True, the material they have is very limited, but they drive at it might and main.——*Speech in Congress, July 27, 1848, vol. II, p. 74.*

Hard to Drive Men

It is not much in the nature of man to be driven to anything; still less to be driven about that which is exclusively his own business; and least of all where such driving is to be submitted to at the expense of pecuniary interest or burning appetite.——*Temperance Address, Feb. 22, 1842, vol. I, p. 196.*

Dread of the Halter

I might procrastinate the evil day for a time, which I really dreaded as much, perhaps more, than an Irishman does the halter.——*Letter to Mrs. O. H. Browning, Apr. 1, 1838, vol. I, p. 90.*

Too Vast for Malice

I shall do nothing in malice. What I deal with is too vast for malicious dealing.——*Letter to Cuthbert Bullitt, July 28, 1862, vol. VII, p. 298.*

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Thirty-Eighth Congress of the United States

A Resolution Submitting to the Legislatures of the Several States a Proposition to Amend the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, (two-thirds of both Houses concurring), That the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as a part of the said Constitution, namely:

ARTICLE XIII.

SECTION 1. Neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the Party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Attest: Secretary of the Senate. Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

H. Hamlin, Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate.

Approved February 1, 1865. Abraham Lincoln.

In the Senate, April 8, 1864.

In the House of Representatives, January 31, 1865.

Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

APPROVED FEBRUARY 1, 1865.

Facsimile of the Joint Resolution with the Official Signatures of the Officers of Congress and of the United States and the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives who Supported the Resolution.

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Chronological Index

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